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TWO MESSAGES.

Pulses beat more quickly, the joy of battle lights up manly faces, and it is a dramatic moment, when the vessel chased as a merchantman opens hatches for her devilish crew to swarm on deck, drops the seeming stripe and discloses shotted guns, and runs up the black flag. Free booter and free trader have much in common. There has been enough of piratical concealment, enough of false pretence. With joy men see that President Cleveland, brave as men often are who do not comprehend what they are doing, strips off Democratic disguises, loads his annual message with free trade theories and propositions of startling breadth and meaning, and compels his party to fight against protection or to seek another candidate.

Like lightning the answer comes from Paris. The President's thought that internal war taxes should be continued, in order to deprive home industry of that measure of defense which a tariff only for revenue would naturally give, is exposed without mercy. His abandonment of coast defense, in order to make the reduction of duties greater, and thus to make the blow fall more heavily on industry, is contrasted with Mr. Tilden's eloquent letter. His proposal to open free of charge the greatest and most profitable market in the world to foreigners, who are to bear no part of the cost of maintaining free institutions here, his bigoted prejudice

against American manufacturers and their workingmen, his desire to take away the scanty profit of American wool growers, whose blundering trust in Democratic promises made his election possible, meet a rebuke at the hands of Mr. Blaine which gladdens the hearts of true Americans. Never has hurled spear been more deftly caught, or sent back with more startling swiftness and surer aim. The land laughs with applause. Thousands who "could not vote for Mr. Blaine" in 1884 wish they had not then mistaken sham for real reform, the babble of slanderers for "proofs of Holy writ," or their own inflamed vanity for tenderness of conscience. So apt and conclusive is the reply, so strong and impressive the defense of American interests, that the Republican party seems in some danger of supposing its work all done, its foes dispersed by a single shot, and its victory already secured.

The question now is whether the Republican party is fit to gov-The first and largest part of the work of self government is to convince and educate. In the long run, no party can live by man worship. The men who banished Aristides, because they were tired of hearing him called "The Just," have their lineal Leaders who truly lead in the primary task of educating and convincing, will be heard and followed though their words come 3,000 miles under water; but no one man, however great, can do all the working and the teaching, and especially all the being brave and faithful, for a great national party. licans have the opportunity for which they have prayed twenty years. The question is whether they have waited so long, and left economic weapons to rust so far, and accustomed themselves to rely upon other agencies so completely, that they are not equal to the opportunity now that it has come. Have members who have counted upon adroit use of Democratic divisions, and shrewd management of appropriations, and offices, and local issues, men who have coquetted with free trade theories or with importers' interests, men who have made silver or land or railroads their hobby and sole support, enough of courage and fidelity to face the great issue, at some risk, in their own localities, to take upon themselves the unwonted labor of educating ignorance and conquering prejudice, to sink distracting local misconceptions in a resolute championship of protective principles, and to move forward in sure touch of the elbow with their comrades? It is for them to say, and to show.

It is easy to underrate the force of the attack which President That attack has specious and plausible feat-Cleveland leads. It courts the favor of woolen manufacturers who wish to use foreign wool, and of iron manufacturers who want to use the ores of Cuba, the steel ingots of England, and the wire rods of Germany. It fits with the free trade theories which Mr. George has been preaching to workingmen, and with the "tariff reform" conception which men have adopted whose only idea of wisdom is to be on neither side very much, and to meet every Irrepressible Conflict with a Peace Conference or a Compromise bill. cially it kindles the enthusiasm of Southern politicians and planters, and opens the exhaustless money chests of foreign bankers, importers, and manufacturers' agents, whose help in a city where 15,000 votes were bought in November is not to be despised. Millions of money will be spent to prevent the defeat of the first American President to propose that Americans shall perpetually tax their pipes and their glasses in order to get their clothing from Germany, their ore from Cuba and Spain, and their steel Millions of money can be defeated only by rails from England. millions of well-informed and unpurchasable votes in the shops and on the farms. There are only ten months in which to educate the millions.

This attack cannot be met by shouting "free trade" as one cries "mad dog" in hot weather, with assured confidence that nobody will stop to inspect the dog until he is dead. Of the Americans who once knew well the sharp dividing line between free trade and protective policies, two-thirds sleep in the churchyards. Seven millions of emigrants since 1860 do not know why freedom, free speech, free land, and free trade should not go together. Six millions of colored persons, where they are permitted to vote at all, think only of protection as something they have always lacked. One generation has grown up in the belief that more money, or white money, or sound money, would cure all ills. Another generation has come upon the stage whose eyes never saw the dependent and industrially subjugated nation which tariff-for-revenue-only was meant to produce and did produce, and who imagine that 40,000,000 sheep, a woolen manufacture consuming 400,000,000 pounds of wool, mines yielding 10,000,000 tons of iron ore, and mills making more than a third of the steel in the world, are as natural and necessarily permanent parts of

the nation's growth as its pine forests and its demagogues. Half a million organized Knights of Labor and Trades Unionists listen to leaders who, in order to persuade them to independent political action, affirm that Republican protection has done nothing for labor. Meanwhile, a considerable number of intelligent men, who know how protective tariffs have blessed the country, consider it their present duty to let the tariff be overthrown, while they reiterate at every election their conscientious conviction that alchohol is a curse.

Into this whirling maelstrom of misconception and ignorance. selfishness, knavery, and bribery, the Republican party must enter with a primer of political economy in hand, to teach one of the hardest of all lessons to learn—that patient sacrifice for the development and diversification of industry is the only way to gain cheap goods, the only way to create an adequate market for farm products, the only way to keep an intelligent and independent body of working people with fitness for self-government. Comprehending nothing of the meaning or merits of a protective system, the President openly appeals to selfish interests; but, if he fully understood, there is little reason to suppose that he would accept an altruistic policy. Clearly, he has learned in the school of Democrats "befo' de wah," to whom politics was a game of The conception of a national policy for the uplifting, defense, and development of every citizen of the nation, the weakest even more than the strongest, was not theirs and is not his. Precisely because the Republican policy is grand, noble, and for the benefit of every citizen, it is least understood by those who need it most, just as the labors of sanitary teachers are most angrily opposed by those English tenants whose homes are the filthiest.

Discouraging? Yes, if it is forgotten that one with God is a majority. But the eternal years are His, and if men fail to do their part, and so to earn the victory of right, He can always wait. Whether Republicans will do their part, and in time to achieve a triumph for humanity and for justice, for those who are too ignorant even to vote for it themselves, for the unity, harmonious development, and industrial independence of the greatest nation on earth, rests with them. If they prove not yet fit to govern, the nation will have to learn by suffering what they might teach it, as it painfully learned the anti-slavery lesson which Whig politicians were afraid to utter.

Thanks to the President, the issue against protection is made in the weakest way. In comprehension, as in courage, he resembles the school-boy. Dogmatic and positive where a competent free-trader would be most vague and cautious, he discharges obsolete and long-abandoned theories which resemble economic arms of precision no more than a Queen Anne blunderbuss resembles a modern Lebel rifle. He supposes, as theorists supposed half a century ago, that protected domestic products must be raised in cost to the full extent of the protecting duty; that cheap materials can be secured by relying on foreign supplies; that protected manufacturers are amassing vast profits, and protected workers are receiving wages much above the general level of wages; that only the persons engaged in any industry are helped in wages or in profits by its maintenance, and that most of the wool growers wear as much wool as they produce. doubt the President himself and his friends will shrink from the translation of his crude phrases into economic language, but it will be the first duty of Republicans in Congress to show that he has betraved a melancholy and hopeless ignorance.

The President reasons that the enhanced cost of woolen clothing to the small wool-growers, who are the great majority, and who have from 25 to 50 sheep each, exceeds the benefit they get from an increase in the price of wool, which he estimates at 10 to 12 cents per pound, the amount of duty, as a maximum, or 60 to 72 cents per sheep. If so, the small wool-grower must wear from 150 to 300 pounds of wool on his back. The fact is that the consumption for all purposes averages not 7 pounds per capita, and the difference in cost, if the price were enhanced to the full extent of the duty, would be less than 70 cents for each inhabitant, because much of the wool produced is of lower than the 10 cent But the value of the products of all the various branches of the woolen manufacture in 1880, including woolen, worsted, mixed textile, felt, wool hat, carpet, and hosiery establishments. with the cost of all imported woolens and the duty thereon, was about \$7 yearly for every inhabitant. The President's idea that goods costing \$7 for each person have somehow been enhanced in cost \$18 or \$36 per person, by means of duties on wool which at the maximum could not increase its cost by 70 cents per person, is naturally pronounced exceedingly able and profound by Democratic statesmen, possibly because they cannot understand it.

If one turns from works of fiction to facts, he finds that American fleece are actually worth in Boston five cents per pound more than English fleece are worth in London, so that, reckoning the cost of shipment from London to this country, the utmost difference which can possibly be attributed to the duty is less than half the duty. As it is less than thirty-five cents per person, on the quantity of wool consumed, or five cents on the dollar of woolen products consumed, the difficulty of attributing to this duty a vast enhancement on the cost of clothing increases. And finally, whoever compares the cost of woolen clothing here and in London, of the qualities used by the great majority of the consumers, discovers that the American are nearly, if not quite, as cheap as the English goods of equal durability and excellence, so that Mr. Cleveland's "tax which with relentless grasp is fastened upon the clothing of every man, woman, and child in the land," vanishes into nothing.

Indeed, both protectionists and the more intelligent free traders are perfectly aware that the President's supposition, that prices of protected products are as a rule enhanced to the full extent of the protective duties, is entirely untrue. New duties, when first imposed, may raise prices to their full extent, but almost immediately something changes; either foreign prices go down or domestic production puts down home prices, and in time the duty often comes to have no effect on prices whatever. vulgar notion, which the President shares, would have been buried and crushed under a mountain of proofs long ago had Republicans done their duty. Yet the entire argument of the President is built on this single false assumption, abandoned years ago by every moderately informed free trader. His supporters, cruelly handicapped by his ignorance, will now have to explain how glassware came to be bought in Pittsburgh for Cunard steamers: how American bridge-builders secured the contract to put thousands of tons of American steel into an Australian bridge; how Pennsylvania rails went to Mexico, or NewJersey locomotives to Europe, or American mining machinery to British mines in South Africa, and by what miracle it comes to pass that American cottons are sold in Manchester and American cuttlery in Sheffield. with these are the other fallacies, that foreign prices would be what they now are if American production were to cease, and that cheaper materials can be had by depending upon foreign supplies. In 1879 an increased demand for iron from this country, amounting to 550,000 tons, actually raised the prices of pig-iron in Great Britain 67 per cent., of bar iron 66 per cent., and of some other manufactured kinds 100 per cent., and yet Mr. Cleveland imagines that a demand five or ten times greater, consequent upon a removal of duties, would not lift the foreign price as much as the existing duty of 43 per cent. Similar examples by the hundred could be presented of sudden and fatal rise in the cost of materials, when this country has suffered itself to become dependent upon foreign supplies. He is no longer a free trader decently competent to engage in modern discussion, who assumes that home industry can flourish if dependent upon sources of supply within easy commercial control of foreign rivals.

Neither do competent men appeal any longer to vulgar prejudice by suggesting, as President Cleveland does, that protected manufacturers are dividing mountainous dividends, or that protected workers are getting unfairly large wages. There is no excuse for ignorance. Tables showing the dividends actually paid by a large number of the oldest and most successful cotton and woolen establishments are published, and even these have not averaged on the capital represented in the market price of their stocks as much as six per cent. in any year for the past five years. It would cost the President no trouble to ascertain that even now at least half the iron furnaces in the United States are earning nothing for capital, and that of the more fortunate, a great many owners would be glad, as Messrs. Hewitt and Cooper actually proposed to their men, to lease their works on the basis of six per cent. for the capital invested. It is not long since a free trade inquirer gloated over his discovery that protection was futile, because workers in protected industries averaged lower wages than hands in other employments, and he was much pained when it was shown that the difference was only that which would naturally arise from the employment of a larger number of women and children in some branches than in others.

It is not creditable to Mr. Cleveland that he seeks to set other farmers against the wool growers. It happens that wool is grown in every State, and excluding counties on the borders of civilization, which are but names without population, out of 2,400 counties in all the States, wool is grown in every county except 36, though there were also 37 others in 1880 where it was not grown

to a substantial extent. Perhaps there is no other crop or product which so large a part of the people have a share in producing. But, that aside, the farmers should not need at this late day to learn that it means serfdom for them, direct and degrading competition with the ryot of India, if the nation fails to develop other industries to furnish a home market for its farm products, and especially for that variety of products which cannot be transported to distant points, but, when required by nearby manufacturing or mining consumers, returns the largest profit to the farmer. It is the development of manufactures and mining which has made the farm lands of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, 71,000,000 acres, worth \$3,350,000,000, over \$47.18 per acre, while the farm lands of Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, and Tennessee, 84,000,000 acres, are worth only \$858,000,000, or \$10,17 Knowing what protection does for them, farming counties in the North vote for it strongly. Knowing nothing about it. farming counties at the South imagine that it plunders them. And as water settles in low places, the notions of those who know least gravitate into the President's message.

To these shallow mistakes, the President adds one into which men of far greater information have fallen. If only 2,600,000 persons get wages in protected industries, he wonders how 15,000,000 others can be benefited. Any novice in trades unionism could tell him that where six men are at work and one is idle and looking for work, his competition will in turn depress the wages of all the rest, and they can better afford to pay for his living out of their own pockets than to have him used as a pile-driver to put down their wages. Put 2,000,000 more men into wheat raising, and what would wheat be worth? Put half of them into mechanics' trades or railroad work, and how long could wages in those occupations be maintained? With 50 men idle in a town. 500 are working at starvation wages. A contractor wants 100 men for a new job in that same town, and straightway every one of the 500 demands and gets better wages. That an intelligent people need to be told such rudimentary things may seem incredible to Republican Congressmen. But when the President, chosen by the intelligent people aforesaid, demonstrates in his annual message that he needs to be taught the same things, it is a solemn warning that primary schools cannot be neglected with safety.

The message will indeed serve well as a chart of the over-

grown jungles and dense thickets of popular ignorance. shows where the sunlight must be admitted without delay; what errors most need to be cleared away. The President makes it obvious that he did not mean to commit himself to extreme free trade notions, and he was doubtless amazed to find that British papers went wild with joy because his commitment was so absolute, so daring, and so unequivocal. He did not know the full meaning of the things he said. He had picked up the sophistries and the pet phrases of plantation Bourbons, who have learned nothing about modern industries since Robert J. Walker's time. and he put them into his message with a wadding of smooth words for labor. He "did not know it was loaded." With a little more knowledge he would not have indorsed his Secretary of the Treasury in recommending: "Add to the free list as many articles as Reduce duties upon every dutiable article to the lowest point possible." As this is the only definite proposition, in a message and report otherwise singularly barren of practical suggestions though professedly aiming at reduction of revenue, and as all the ultra-free-trade theorizing points to the same end, or else is meaningless, it must be supposed that the President thought a lowering of partially protective duties would diminish customs receipts. Yet it is not a very recondite truth that any moderate reduction of a protecting duty must increase importations and consequently revenues. Either the President deliberately calls for an extreme and sweeping reduction of duties, as in terms the Secretary does, or he manifests an ignorance of the effect of tariff changes which is eminently in harmony with his party's proved incapacity to govern.

Less than \$20,000,000 at the utmost can be taken from the revenue by putting on the free list all raw materials of industry, according to the annual report of the Bureau of Statistics just published, and in that report such advanced products as steel ingots are classed as crude materials. Reckoning no increase in revenue for the remaining seven months of the fiscal year, though the increase in the five months ending with November has been \$11,200, 000,—in itself a most extraordinary estimate for the financial Secretary of a great government,—Mr. Fairchild counts upon a surplus during the present year of \$66,000,000. In order to take off \$45,000,000 or \$50,000,000 from the revenue, after all additions to the free list, and to take that sum from the revenues derived

from duties on manufactured products, which yielded during the last fiscal year \$82,291,859, what change would be requisite? Has the President or the Secretary the least idea how great a reduction in the rates of duty would be necessary to diminish the receipts by 55 to 60 per cent? Do they imagine that removal of half or two-thirds of the duties would have that effect? There is not a practical merchant or manufacturer who does not know that such a change would enormously increase importations—unless, indeed, immediate panic and prostration should deprive the people of consuming power—and that the lower rates on double or treble the present importations would vield a larger revenue than is now obtained. Every step in the reduction of rates from one per cent. to sixty per cent. would open the door to some additional articles or classes of articles of foreign make which would be imported to undersell and take the place of American products. Each little item becomes enormous when the consumption of a nation of sixty millions is to be supplied. It takes \$17,000,000 yearly to provide the nation with the mere material for its tin cups, pans, and pails. With every reduction on articles we now produce, additional American factories, mills, or mines must close. Prostration and collapse must come, sooner or later, but meanwhile importations and revenue must If the reduction of duty be made large enough to secure a decrease of one-half in the revenue derived from manufactured imports, the road to prostration must be mercifully short.

President Cleveland has been told that cheap materials would enable home manufacturers to produce at so much less cost that they would not be undersold or forced to close by the reduction of duties on products. Of the dutiable articles classed by the Bureau of Statistics as crude materials, 60 per cent. in value last year were the following: Iron ore, pig, scrap, and steel ingots or bars, raw wool, rags, shoddy, and waste. Would either of these classes be cheaper if production here were no longer encouraged, and manufacturers were left to rely upon foreign sources of supply? At the outset, beyond a doubt. Already many mines in States nearer the seaboard than Pittsburgh have been abandoned, and others still farther inland have lately been placed in receivers' hands, because foreign imports have been large in spite of the present duty. There is not an intelligent iron worker who does not know that other mines in great number would be closed if

the duty were removed. Would foreign ore be cheaper if the American demand should call for two or three times the present product of Bilbao or Cuba mines? Out of 585 iron furnaces, 232 are idle now; one Thomas furnace has just gone out of blast, while many others are working without profit for When pig-iron was selling at \$18 per ton, at the end of 1877, there were 427 furnaces standing idle. How many would close if iron free of duty should be offered here at \$12,28 to \$13.78 per ton, the present price, ex duty, of English and Scotch iron at New York? But when they had closed, and foreign makers were called upon to supply only the 4,000,000 tons now produced here, but not produced here in 1877, does anybody suppose the price abroad would not be rapidly and largely advanced? That quantity is more than the entire product of Germany, and more than half the production of Great Britain. With what ease foreign manufacturers could combine to engage the output of all available furnaces, and then to put up the price in order to close our manufactories of iron and steel, and force us to buy their manufactured products instead of their pig-iron. Against such a process this country would be entirely defenseless, for neither mills nor furnaces can afford to start operations without some assurance of continued demand at paying prices. Mr. Cleveland doubtless thinks these fears chimerical. Yet the mere utterance of his mistaken notions led one large producer the next day to sell steel rails at less than \$32, and Bessemer iron at \$18.50.

There are 44,759,000 sheep in the country. Three years ago there were over 50,626,000. No decline whatever in prices, but only a continuance of prices deemed too low, has caused this reduction of nearly 6,000,000, or 12 per cent. Against 302,000,000 pounds two years ago, the country produced in 1860, when Mr. Cleveland's party went out of power, not one-third as much, and the number of sheep had increased less than 800,000 in ten years under a revenue tariff, though even under that tariff there was a revenue of 24 per cent. on wool worth 20 cents per pound or over. Is there reason to believe that, with no duty whatever, the country would produce as much wool as it did then? Once slaughtered, 25,000,000 sheep would not be replaced without assurance of fair returns for wool. But how long would manufacturers get foreign wool at low prices if this country should need from abroad 200,000,000 pounds more than it now imports,

a quantity greater than the entire production of Great Britain and Germany together? Certainly there is not a manufacturer who could not inform Mr. Cleveland that cheap material on that condition would prove exceedingly dear material. Nor would English and German manufacturers find it difficult to corner the supply, already controlled largely in London, and thus to force this country to buy woolens instead of wool.

The selfish policy is always short sighted. "He who finds his life shall lose it." While this nation defends all its industries, nobody caring less for the welfare and steady and sure employment and honest independence of the men and women who work than for the possible pennies that might be saved by buying from Australia or Bilbao, well-deserved prosperity blesses 12,000,000 American homes. When each man of the nation begins trying to get a little more money by leaving his neighbor without work, or bread, or honest manhood, then prosperity vanishes, and selfseeking brings its curse. It is a great and grand nation to-day because for a quarter of a century it has cared for men and women more than for dollars. The dollars have come because they have not been sought at the sacrifice of manhood. The nation has added more to its wealth during that period than any other nation is now worth. Its 60,000,000 of people add more to their wealth every year than the 120,000,000 of Germany, France, and England, and yet consume more in the satisfaction of human desires than any 120,000,000 inhabitants on the globe. These are the glorious fruits of a policy, wise because Christian, sagacious because not selfish, enriching because deliberately planned to secure for the weakest and the least fortunate his chance in life, his place in honest industry, and his self-respecting and independent manhood. Whoever strikes a blow at a system which has brought such grand results will belong in human history with the freebooters and buccaneers who blocked the path of civilization, who made self their aim, theft their industry, and crime their only heroism.

For nearly three years the freebooters of this century have been saying, "It was a lie that Democratic victory would endanger the nation's prosperity." Enter President Cleveland, to prove that it was true. In his message men may learn that the nation has not been prostrated in its industries and robbed of its prosperity, only because the President's party has not had the power. At every session of Congress it has tried to break down

the defense of home industry, and has been defeated by a solid phalanx of Republican votes. Stronger for every proof that only its votes have saved the country from disaster, the Republican party now has the prestige of success in States enough to elect a President, with seventeen votes to spare. But it cannot afford to forget that its fidelity alone has made it strong. It cannot afford to neglect the task of confronting error with enlightened facts, and of educating the people to a policy both national and noble. If it falters or hesitates, if it flinches or forgets the nation's trust in a selfish scramble for place or local success, not the memory of Appomattox nor the genius of a matchless leader can save it.

A REPUBLICAN.